1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ABORIGINES OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

PART II.

The Mandan Indians are the subject of this second part of the treatment of the Aborigines of South Dakota, as were the Aricaras or Rees of Part I. In closing the present paper, however, some recurrence will be had to the Rees in connection with their ancient habitat on the Missouri in South Dakota and further south, as indicated by some evidences which have come to light since the first paper was published.

The Mandan Indians, "People of the Pheasants," or "People of the East," as they have termed themselves, or "Bearded Whites," as they were called by some French Canadians who first heard of and came among them, have been regarded by the explorers and chroniclers who have visited and made a study of them, as aborigines possessing some peculiarities and some excellencies which distinguish them from Indians of America in general to a degree which has aroused special curiosity and unusual speculation as to their ancestry and origin.

Any attempt to trace an Indian tribe back to a basic point at which the beginnings of a race in the human families of remote antiquity are discoverable, inevitably results in mystery or confusion, or both. And while this statement is and must be predicated upon the past in research and the philosophies which have grown up with or out of it, the present seems to promise, in definite results, but little hope of rescuing from the realm of myth the farther ends of the threads of history. Yet we believe the future is not wholly devoid of hope in that direction.

Nor are we able to declare that the foregoing observations do not apply with equal force to the Mandans, as to other Indians of America. But we shall bring into this paper toward its end some narratives, affirmations and some conclusions on the part of

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d21 their authors in connection therewith which it seems should be regarded as tending to support in some degree a tangible theory of the origin of certain elements of character in the Mandans, while not accounting for them in the sense of the original elements of an Indian tribe or nation. Those evidences are claimed, with more or less positiveness, by those who have brought them forward to be such as to lead to the supposition, or the conclusion, that the Mandans are a residium of the Mound Builders; that they, with the latter, were an amalgamation of whites with native Americans; that the alleged white element in their racial composition is of Welsh origin; and that this latter element may be referred to the Madocian theory—that of the alleged immigration into the New World of Prince Madoc and his followers in the Twelfth century. Some remoter consequences are sought to be drawn by some of those theorists, in the direction of identifying as the offshoot of the Mound Builders the race of Montezuma in Mexico, and as derivable from some alleged settlement of the Madocians upon the Atlantic coast of America—the Incas of Peru. And the theory of the Moundbuilders as associated with the Aztecs is sought to be brought into relation to the Mandans upon the hypothesis that the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi river was the probable point of separation of various tribes of the Mound Builders who, driven from point to point down the Ohio by overpowering numbers of Indians from the neighborhood of the Great Lakes, scattered from each other, some progressing up the Missouri, while others went southward along the Mississippi and, roughly speaking, westward into what is now New Mexico and Arizona, thence southward. These theories, wherein they seek to establish a Welsh origin of the Mandans and some other Indian tribes, have been discarded by the vast majority of commentators, who base their conclusions upon reasoning in the light of the narratives and conclusions of others who were observers and narrators, while some who have assembled what seem to them tangible evidences cling tenaciously to that theory.

The fact that the whole field of historical foundation everywhere is, under the limelight of later investigation and inquiry, yielding up new evidences which in some degree rescue truth from mythology, or from oblivion itself, or according to other estimates are building anew those foundations in tangible form

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out of material which was once well known for fact, but has been lost in the mist of ages—is by the writer hereof regarded as warrant for bringing into this paper sundry narratives bearing upon the theory in question which in themselves may be of doubtful value, but which, when forming part of a symposium upon the theme of origin, may be legitimate material.

But we defer to a later stage of treatment of the general subject this phase of remote origin, only adding that, as regards the Mound Builders, it seems very probable that a rational connection will be found to be shown to exist between them and the Mandans; and that a few quotations from the earliest observers of the Mandans, by way of preliminary to an account of them when first known to civilized man, may not be out of place as indicating what we in the outset remarked as to their singularities.

Their Peculiar Characteristics. The Mandans conveyed to all visitors and observers who came in contact with them in the Eighteenth and the first half of the Nineteenth centuries the impression, in marked degree, that they were emphatically more civilized than other Indian tribes of the west, and that they were of such fair complexion and had hair and eyes of such color as to convey the distinct, profound impression—to some the belief—that they were not Indians in the usual sense of that word.

La Verendrye, who visited them in 1738 for several weeks, recorded of them that "their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed with white and black." "The women have not the Indian physiognomy." Le Raye, who as a prisoner of the Brule Sioux was taken up the Missouri river in 1803 and into the Mandan villages, observes of them that they are "of the lightest complexion," that their hair "inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so dark and coarse as most other Indians;" that "their eyes are full and lively" and that they are "courteous and sociable." General Clarke (of the Lewis and Clarke expedition), who wintered with them in 1804-5, told Catlin that he would find them "a strange people and half white." Alexander Henry, who in 1806 visited them, says: "What struck me as extraordinary among these people was several children about ten years of age whose hair was perfectly gray, and who thus resembled aged persons; those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not such strong, coarse hair as other nations of North America; they have it much finer,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

105 for furs. But Mandan sedentary life proved ill adapted to cope with the epidemics of smallpox and other contagious diseases that soon swept through their villages in successive waves until the tribe narrowly escaped extinction in 1837. During this period of rapidly reducing population, increased pressure from newly arrived and well-armed Siouan nomadic tribes hastened the downfall of the Mandan and all other agricultural village Indians living along the Missouri River.

105 The Mandan were a conservative people; behavior was
● 121 traditional and stemmed from institutional sources, the sacred rites, and ceremonies. If you ask an old Mandan to describe a commonplace custom or even a tool used in his daily activities, he will invariably first introduce data on its origin to explain its adoption and use by his people. Those possessing vast knowledge of these "origin myths" occupy high status positions in the village and tribe. Early in this study it became evident that no adequate understanding of Mandan cultural and social values was possible except in terms of these origin myths, most of which were inseparable parts of the various sacred-bundle complexes. In recording the data contained in this report, I encouraged informants to express in their own way meanings which customs had for them; and this report is an attempt to describe Mandan culture in terms of its meaning to the Mandan Indians.

121 So far as possible, considering overlapping of myths and bundle rites, I have attempted to bring the related sacred myth and descriptions of the rituals together in the same chapter. Though these sacred myths provide the student of Indian folklore with a new body of materials not heretofore available, I believe that their greatest value will be to provide a better understanding of Mandan habits, customs, ideologies, institutions, social values, and human controls. In describing Mandan culture, I have endeavored (1) to penetrate the veneer of European culture and to describe life as it was in aboriginal times and (2) to indicate recent cultural changes which have occurred under the impact of the fur trade and closer associations with the Hidatsa.

008 It is a privilege to express my thanks to the many persons who have helped me in the preparation of this book—all of

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

PREFACE.

121 In 1904 one of the authors became interested in the history and culture of the Mandans, and later prepared an historical and descriptive sketch of this interesting people. In 1905 an opportunity for archaeological field work led to the formation of a small party of students, who carried on investigations over a period of six weeks in the region formerly occupied by this tribe. The party consisted of Mr. R. R. Hellmann (H. U. '06) and Mr. H. A. Nye (H. U. '06), in addition to the authors of this paper. While working over the archaeological and historical material collected, it was deemed advisable to add the consideration of available linguistic data. The result of these several investigations is embodied in the following paper.

000 Thanks are due to Mr. Martin Burgois for his courteous permission to conduct exploration on his land; and also to Dr. Rawlings, Mr. L. Sperry and Mr. T. Griffin, all of Bismarck, N. D., and to Mr. E. R. Steinbrueck of Mandan, N. D., for various favors.

In the preparation of the paper, thanks are due to Professor F. W. Putnam for his kindly advice and criticism, and to Dr. W. C. Farabee for valuable service rendered in the identification of the animal remains and the measurements of the human bones. Above all, the authors desire to thank Dr. R. B. Dixon for his untiring aid and thorough supervision.

G. F. W. & H. J. S.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
JUNE 15, 1906.

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5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

PREFACE.

121 The Hidatsa, while most closely related to the Crow, have been in close contact with the Mandan for so long a period that the culture of all three tribes must be considered in conjunction. That is to say, it is impossible to acquire an accurate picture of Hidatsa life without taking into account, on the one hand, the persistence of old elements characteristic of the parent tribe before its division into Crow and Hidatsa and, on the other hand, the influence exerted by the Mandan subsequently to the Crow separation. Our information on the Mandan, for reasons stated below, is tantalizingly meager and suggests rather than solves problems. Fortunately, the Crow data are sufficiently extensive to permit a comparison of their social culture with that of the Hidatsa and to make possible a reconstruction of their pristine organisation. In a previous paper of this series issued in 1912 (Vol. IX, part II) I dealt with the "Social Life of the Crow Indians." Since its appearance I have paid several visits to this people and have secured much additional information, which partly confirms and in part supplements and amends my earlier results. I have naturally devoted much more space to the new material but found it necessary to summarize briefly some facts previously described.

124 A few words may be in place regarding the method followed in illustrating the use of Crow kinship terms. It has become clear to students that relationship nomenclature harbors innumerable pitfalls for the field investigator. These can be minimized only by utilizing every possible means of checking the information obtained. We must not content ourselves with abstract statements nor even with the confirmation supplied by a genealogical scheme but should determine the use to which terms are put by the native when not harried by ethnological questioning, when, in other words, he is in a perfectly normal and naïve position with reference to his tribesmen. One way to do this is to keep one's ears open in Indian households when not ostensibly engaged in belaboring the aboriginal consciousness; another equally effective one is to collect systematically the evidence yielded by mythological texts. It is even possible to make use of myths taken down in English provided the recorder insists on noting down in the vernacular every relationship term that occurs.

114 The Hidatsa and Mandan were visited in the summers of 1910, 1911, and 1913, while my acquaintance with the Crow dates back to 1907 and has been frequently renewed since.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

June 15, 1917.

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6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

Immense additions have been made of late years to our knowledge of the extensive continent of North America. A large portion of that country, which, only a few years ago, was covered with almost uninterrupted primeval forests, and a scanty, scattered population of rude barbarians, has been converted, by the influx of emigrants from the Old World, into a rich and flourishing State, for the most part civilized, and almost as well known and cultivated as Europe itself. Large and flourishing towns, with fine public institutions of every kind, have risen rapidly, and every year adds to their number. Animated commerce, unfettered, unlimited industry, have caused this astonishing advance of civilization in the United States. The tide of emigration is impelled onwards, wave upon wave, and it is only the sterility of the North-west that can check the advancing torrent.

We already possess numerous accounts of these daily-increasing States, and there are many good statistical works on the subject. We have even excellent general works on the physical state of this continent, among which Volney's "Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats Unis," holds a high rank. Little, however, has yet been done towards a clear and vivid description of the natural scenery of North America: the works of American writers themselves on this subject, with the exception of Cooper's and Washington Irving's animated descriptions, cannot be taken into account, as, in writing for their countrymen, they take it for granted that their readers are well acquainted with the country.

For this reason I have endeavoured, in the following work, to supply this deficiency to the best of my ability, and have aimed rather at giving a clear and faithful description of the country, than at collecting statistical information. Hence these travels are designed for foreign, rather than for American readers, to whom, probably, but few of the details would be new.

There are two distinct points of view in which that remarkable country may be considered. Some travellers are interested by the rude, primitive character of the natural face of North America, and its aboriginal population, the traces of which are now scarcely discernible in most parts of the United States; while the majority are more inclined to contemplate the immigrant population, and the gigantic strides of civilization introduced by it. The account of my tour through a part of these countries, contained in the following pages, is chiefly intended for readers of the first class. I have avoided the repetition of numerous statements which may be found in various statistical publications; but, on the contrary, have aimed at a simple description of nature. As the United States were merely the basis of my more extensive undertaking, the object of which

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6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

121 was the investigation of the upper part of the course of the Missouri, they do not form a prominent feature, and it is impossible to expect, from a few months' residence, an opinion on the social condition and character of that motley population.

The indulgent reader, following the author beyond the frontier of the United States, will have to direct his attention to those extensive plains—those cheerless, desolate prairies, the western boundary of which is formed by the snow-covered chain of the Rocky Mountains, or the Oregon, where many tribes of the aborigines still enjoy a peaceful abode; while their brethren in the eastern part of the continent are supplanted, extirpated, degenerated, in the face of the constantly increasing immigration, or have been forced across the Mississippi, where they have for the most part perished.

122 The vast tracts of the interior of North-western America are, in general, but little known, and the government of the United States may be justly reproached for not having done more to explore them. Some few scientific expeditions, among which the two under Major Long produced the most satisfactory results for natural history, though on a limited scale, were set on foot by the government; and it is only under its protection that a thorough investigation of those extensive wildernesses, especially in the Rocky Mountains, can be undertaken. Even Major Long's expeditions are but poorly furnished with respect to natural history, for a faithful and vivid picture of those countries, and their original inhabitants, can never be placed before the eye without the aid of a fine portfolio of plates by the hand of a skilful artist.

In my description of the voyage up the Missouri, I have endeavoured to avail myself of the assistance of an able draughtsman, the want of which I so sensibly felt in my former travels in South America. On the present occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Bodmer, who has represented the Indian nations with great truth, and correct delineation of their characteristic features. His drawings will prove an important addition to our knowledge of this race of men, to whom so little attention has hitherto been paid.

121 After mature consideration, I have judged it desirable to throw the account of my voyage
128 on the Missouri itself into the form of a journal, as the daily notices were numerous, but the variety very trifling; so that the patience of the reader will unfortunately be tried a little in this part of the narrative. In these uninhabited, desert countries the traveller has nothing but the description of the naked banks of the river, and the little diversity they afford, interrupted at times by the adventures of the chase, and occasional meetings with Indians; the reader will therefore excuse many observations and unimportant descriptions, which would have been omitted if the materials had been richer in variety. I need still more indulgence with respect to many observations on natural history, but for this the loss of the greater part of my collections will be a sufficient excuse. The cases containing these were delivered to the Company, to be put on board the steamer for St. Louis, but not insured; and, when the steamer caught fire, the people thought rather of saving the goods than my cases, the contents of which were, probably, not considered to be of much value, and so they were all burnt. This may be a warning to future travellers not to neglect to insure such collections.

Though the main object of my journey, namely, to pass some time in the chain of the Rocky Mountains, was defeated by unfavourable circumstances, I should have been able, but for the loss of my collections, to communicate many new observations, especially in the department of zoology, which are now more or less deficient. The accounts of the tribes of the aborigines, and

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

121 128

especially of the Mandans and Manitaries, are more complete, because I spent a whole winter among them, and was able to have daily intercourse with them. Authentic and impartial accounts of the Indians of the Upper Missouri are now especially valuable, if the information that we have since received is well founded, namely, that to the many evils introduced by the Whites among those tribes, a most destructive epidemic—small-pox—has been added, and a great part of them exterminated: according to the newspapers, the Mandans, Manitaries, Assiniboins, and Blackfeet have been swept away except a small remnant. The observation of the manners of the aborigines is undoubtedly that which must chiefly interest the foreign traveller in those countries, especially as the Anglo-Americans look down on them with a certain feeling of hatred. Hence we have hitherto met with little useful information respecting the Indians, except in the recent writings of Edward James, Long, Say, Schoolcraft, M'Kenney, Cass, Duponceau, Irving, and a few others; and as good portraits of this race have hitherto been extremely rare, the faithful delineation contained in the portfolio of plates accompanying this work will be interesting to the friends of anthropology and ethnography.

Several men, of great eminence in the learned world, have had the kindness to contribute to the publication. President Nees Von Esenbeck has undertaken the determination and description of the plants which I brought home; Professor Goldfuss, of Bonn, that of some fossil shells; Professor Göppert, of Breslau, that of the impression of fossil plants from Mauch Chunk; Professors Valenciennes at Paris, and Wiegmann at Boston, the comparison of some zoological specimens with those in their cities; and Lieut.-Col. W. Thorn, the construction of the map; for which obliging assistance I beg leave to offer to these gentlemen my sincere thanks.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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114 who entered that beautiful and famed valley soon ofter the close of the revolutionary war, and the disastrous event of the "Indian massacre."

The early part of my life was whiled away, apparently, somewhat in vain, with books reluctantly held in one hand, and a rifle or fishing-pole firmly and affectionately grasped in the other.

At the urgent request of my father, who was a practising lawyer, I was prevailed upon to abandon these favourite themes, and also my occasional dabblings with the brush, which had secured already a corner in my affections; and I commenced reading the law for a profession, under the direction of Reeve and Gould, of Connecticut. I attended the lectures of these learned judges for two years—was admitted to the bar—and practised the law, as a sort of *Nimrodical* lawyer, in my native land, for the term of two or three years; when I very deliberately sold my law library and all (save my rifle and fishing-tackle), and converting their proceeds into brushes and paint pots; I commenced the art of painting in Philadelphia, without teacher or adviser.

I there closely applied my hand to the labours of the art for several years; during which time my mind was continually reaching for some branch or enterprise of the art, on which to devote a whole life-time of enthusiasm; when a delegation of some ten or fifteen noble and dignified-looking Indians, from the wilds of the "Far West," suddenly arrived in the city, arrayed and equipped in all their classic beauty,—with shield and helmet,—with tunic and manteau,—tinted and tasselled off, exactly for the painter's palette!

In silent and stoic dignity, these lords of the forest strutted about the city for a few days, wrapped in their pictured robes, with their brows plumed with the quills of the war-eagle, attracting the gaze and admiration of all who beheld them. After this, they took their leave for Washington City, and I was left to reflect and regret, which I did long and deeply, until I came to the following deductions and conclusions.

● 121 Black and blue cloth and civilization are destined, not only to veil, but to obliterate the grace and beauty of Nature. Man, in the simplicity and loftiness of his nature, unrestrained and unfettered by the disguises of art, is surely the most beautiful model for the painter,—and the country from which he hails is unquestionably the best study or school of the arts in the world: such I am sure, from the models I have seen, is the wilderness of North America. And the history and customs of such a people, preserved by pictorial illustrations, are themes worthy the life-time of one man, and nothing short of the loss of my life, shall prevent me from visiting their country, and of becoming their historian.

114 There was something inexpressibly delightful in the above resolve, which was to bring me amidst such living models for my brush: and at the same time to place in my hands again, for my living and protection, the objects of my heart above-named; which had long been laid by to rust and decay

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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in the city, without the remotest prospect of again contributing to my amusement. 114

I had fully resolved—I opened my views to my friends and relations, but got not one advocate or abettor. I tried fairly and faithfully, but it was in vain to reason with those whose anxieties were ready to fabricate every difficulty and danger that could be imagined, without being able to understand or appreciate the extent or importance of my designs, and I broke from them all,—from my wife and my aged parents,—myself my only adviser and protector.

With these views firmly fixed—armed, equipped, and supplied, I started out in the year 1832, and penetrated the vast and pathless wilds which are familiarly denominated the great "Far West" of the North American Continent, with a light heart, inspired with an enthusiastic hope and reliance that I could meet and overcome all the hazards and privations of a life devoted to the production of a literal and graphic delineation of the living manners, customs, and character of an interesting race of people, who are rapidly passing away from the face of the earth—lending a hand to a dying nation, who have no historians or biographers of their own to pourtray with fidelity their native looks and history; thus snatching from a hasty oblivion what could be saved for the benefit of posterity, and perpetuating it, as a fair and just monument, to the memory of a truly lofty and noble race.

I have spent about eight years already in the pursuit above-named, having been for the most of that time immersed in the Indian country, mingling with red men, and identifying myself with them as much as possible, in their games and amusements; in order the better to familiarize myself with their superstitions and mysteries, which are the keys to Indian life and character.

It was during the several years of my life just mentioned, and whilst I was in familiar participation with them in their sports and amusements, that I penned the following series of epistles; describing only such glowing or curious scenes and events as passed under my immediate observation; leaving their early history, and many of their traditions, language, &c. for a subsequent and much more elaborate work, for which I have procured the materials, and which I may eventually publish.

I set out on my arduous and perilous undertaking with the determination of reaching, ultimately, every tribe of Indians on the Continent of North America, and of bringing home faithful portraits of their principal personages, both men and women, from each tribe; views of their villages, games, &c. and full notes on their character and history. I designed, also, to procure their costumes, and a complete collection of their manufactures and weapons, and to perpetuate them in a *Gallery unique*, for the use and instruction of future ages. 121

I claim whatever merit there may have been in the originality of such a 114

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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114 design, as I was undoubtedly the first artist who ever set out upon such a work, designing to carry his canvass to the Rocky Mountains; and a considerable part of the following Letters were written and published in the New York Papers, as early as the years 1832 and 1833; long before the Tours of Washington Irving, and several others, whose interesting narratives are before the world.

I have, as yet, by no means visited *all* the tribes; but I have progressed a very great way with the enterprise, and with far greater and more complete success than I expected.

I have visited forty-eight different tribes, the greater part of which I found speaking different languages, and containing in all 400,000 souls. I have brought home safe, and in good order, 310 portraits in oil, all painted in their native dress, and in their own wigwams; and also 200 other paintings in oil, containing views of their villages—their wigwams—their games and religious ceremonies—their dances—their ball plays—their buffalo hunting, and other amusements (containing in all, over 3000 full-length figures); and the landscapes of the country they live in, as well as a very extensive and curious collection of their costumes, and all their other manufactures, from the size of a wigwam down to the size of a quill or a rattle.

A considerable part of the above-named paintings, and Indian manufactures, will be found amongst the very numerous illustrations in the following pages; having been, in every instance, faithfully copied and reduced by my own hand, for the engraver, from my original paintings; and the reader of this book who will take the pains to step in to "CATLIN'S NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN GALLERY," will find nearly every scene and custom which is described in this work, as well as many others, carefully and correctly delineated, and displayed upon the walls, and every weapon (and every "Sachem" and every "Sagamore" who has wielded them) according to the tenor of the tales herein recited.

So much of *myself* and of my *works*, which is all that I wish to say at present.

Of the INDIANS, I have much more to say, and to the following delineations of them, and their character and customs, I shall make no further apology for requesting the attention of my readers.

●121 The Indians (as I shall call them), the savages or red men of the forests and prairies of North America, are at this time a subject of great interest and some importance to the civilized world; rendered more particularly so in this age, from their relative position to, and their rapid declension from, the civilized nations of the earth. A numerous nation of human beings, whose origin is beyond the reach of human investigation,—whose early history is lost—whose term of national existence is nearly expired—three-fourths of whose country has fallen into the possession of civilized man within the short space of 250 years—twelve millions of whose bodies have fattened the soil in the mean time; who have fallen victims to whiskey, the small-pox and the

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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bayonet; leaving at this time but a meagre proportion to live a short time longer, in the certain apprehension of soon sharing a similar fate. 12

The writer who would undertake to embody the whole history of such a people, with all their misfortunes and calamities, must needs have much more space than I have allotted to this epitome; and he must needs begin also (as I am doing) with those who are *living*, or he would be very apt to dwell upon the preamble of his work, until the present living remnants of the race should have passed away; and their existence and customs, like those of ages gone bye, become subjects of doubt and incredulity to the world for whom his book was preparing. Such an historian also, to do them justice, must needs correct many theories and opinions which have, either ignorantly or maliciously, gone forth to the world in indelible characters; and gather and arrange a vast deal which has been but imperfectly recorded, or placed to the credit of a people who have not had the means of recording it themselves; but have entrusted it, from necessity, to the honesty and punctuality of their enemies.

In such an history should be embodied, also, a correct account of their treatment, and the causes which have led to their rapid destruction; and a plain and systematical prophecy as to the time and manner of their final extinction, based upon the causes and the ratio of their former and present declension.

So Herculean a task may fall to my lot at a future period, or it may not; but I send forth these volumes at this time, fresh and full of their living deeds and customs, as a familiar and unstudied introduction (at least) to them and their native character; which I confidently hope will repay the readers who read for information and historical facts, as well as those who read but for amusement.

The world know generally, that the Indians of North America are copper-coloured; that their eyes and their hair are black, &c.; that they are mostly uncivilized, and consequently unchristianized; that they are nevertheless human beings, with features, thoughts, reason, and sympathies like our own; but few yet know how they *live*, how they *dress*, how they *worship*, what are their actions, their customs, their religion, their amusements, &c. as they practise them in the uncivilized regions of their uninvaded country, which it is the main object of this work, clearly and distinctly to set forth.

It would be impossible at the same time, in a book of these dimensions, to explain *all* the manners and customs of these people; but as far as they are narrated, they have been described by my pen, upon the spot, as I have seen them transacted; and if some few of my narrations should seem a *little too highly coloured*, I trust the world will be ready to extend to me that pardon which it is customary to yield to all artists whose main faults exist in the vividness of their colouring, rather than in the drawing of their pictures; but there is nothing else in them, I think, that I should ask pardon for, even though some of them should stagger credulity, and incur

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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●121 for me the censure of those critics, who sometimes, unthinkingly or unmercifully, sit at home at their desks, enjoying the luxury of wine and a good cigar, over the simple narration of the honest and weather-worn traveller (who shortens his half-starved life in catering for the world), to condemn him and his work to oblivion, and his wife and his little children to poverty and starvation; merely because he describes scenes which they have not beheld, and which, consequently, they are unable to believe.

The Indians of North America, as I have before said, are copper-coloured, with long black hair, black eyes, tall, straight, and elastic forms—are less than two millions in number—were originally the undisputed owners of the soil, and got their title to their lands from the Great Spirit who created them on it,—were once a happy and flourishing people, enjoying all the comforts and luxuries of life which they knew of, and consequently cared for:—were sixteen millions in numbers, and sent that number of daily prayers to the Almighty, and thanks for his goodness and protection. Their country was entered by white men, but a few hundred years since; and thirty millions of these are now scuffling for the goods and luxuries of life, over the bones and ashes of twelve millions of red men; six millions of whom have fallen victims to the small-pox, and the remainder to the sword, the bayonet, and whiskey; all of which means of their death and destruction have been introduced and visited upon them by acquisitive white men; and by white men, also, whose forefathers were welcomed and embraced in the land where the poor Indian met and fed them with "ears of green corn and with pemican." Of the two millions remaining alive at this time, about 1,400,000, are already the miserable living victims and dupes of white man's cupidity, degraded, discouraged and lost in the bewildering maze that is produced by the use of whiskey and its concomitant vices; and the remaining number are yet unroused and unenticed from their wild haunts or their primitive modes, by the dread or love of white man and his allurements.

It has been with these, mostly, that I have spent my time, and of these, chiefly, and their customs, that the following Letters treat. Their habits (and their's alone) as we can see them transacted, are native, and such as I have wished to fix and preserve for future ages.

Of the dead, and of those who are dying, of those who have suffered death, and of those who are now trodden and kicked through it, I may speak more fully in some deductions at the close of this book; or at some future time, when I may find more leisure, and may be able to speak of these scenes without giving offence to the world, or to any body in it.

Such a portrait then as I have set forth in the following pages (taken by myself from the free and vivid realities of life, instead of the vague and uncertain imagery of recollection, or from the haggard deformities and distortions of disease and death), I offer to the world for their amusement, as well as for their information; and I trust they will pardon me, if it should be thought

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that I have over-estimated the Indian character, or at other times descended too much into the details and minutiæ of Indian mysteries and absurdities. 121

The reader, then, to understand me rightly, and draw from these Letters the information which they are intended to give, must follow me a vast way from the civilized world; he must needs wend his way from the city of New York, over the Alleghany, and far beyond the mighty Missouri, and even to the base and summit of the Rocky Mountains, some two or three thousand miles from the Atlantic coast. He should forget many theories he has read in the books of Indian barbarities, of wanton butcheries and murders; and divest himself, as far as possible of the deadly prejudices which he has carried from his childhood, against this most unfortunate and most abused part of the race of his fellow-man.

He should consider, that if he has seen the savages of North America without making such a tour, he has fixed his eyes upon and drawn his conclusions (in all probability) only from those who inhabit the frontier; whose habits have been changed—whose pride has been cut down—whose country has been ransacked—whose wives and daughters have been shamefully abused—whose lands have been wrested from them—whose limbs have become enervated and naked by the excessive use of whiskey—whose friends and relations have been prematurely thrown into their graves—whose native pride and dignity have at last given way to the unnatural vices which civilized cupidity has engrafted upon them, to be silently nurtured and magnified by a burning sense of injury and injustice, and ready for that cruel vengeance which often falls from the hand that is palsied by refined abuses, and yet unrestrained by the glorious influences of refined and moral cultivation.—That if he has laid up what he considers well-founded knowledge of these people, from books which he has read, and from newspapers only, he should pause at least, and withhold his sentence before he passes it upon the character of a people, who are dying at the hands of their enemies, without the means of recording their own annals —struggling in their nakedness with their simple weapons, against guns and gunpowder—against whiskey and steel, and disease, and mailed warriors who are continually trampling them to the earth, and at last exultingly promulgating from the very soil which they have wrested from the poor savage, the history of his cruelties and barbarities, whilst his bones are quietly resting under the very furrows which their ploughs are turning.

So great and unfortunate are the disparities between savage and civil, in numbers—in weapons and defences—in enterprise, in craft, and in education, that the former is almost universally the sufferer either in peace or in war; and not less so after his pipe and his tomahawk have retired to the grave with him, and his character is left to be entered upon the pages of history, and that justice done to his memory which from necessity, he has intrusted to his enemy.

Amongst the numerous historians, however, of these strange people, they have had some friends who have done them justice; yet as a part of all sys-

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● 124 tems of justice whenever it is meted to the poor Indian, it comes invariably too late, or is administered at an ineffectual distance; and that too when his enemies are continually about him, and effectually applying the means of his destruction.

Some writers, I have been grieved to see, have written down the character of the North American Indian, as dark, relentless, cruel and murderous in the last degree; with scarce a quality to stamp their existence of a higher order than that of the brutes:—whilst others have given them a high rank, as I feel myself authorized to do, as honourable and highly-intellectual beings; and others, both friends and foes to the red men, have spoken of them as an "anomaly in nature!"

In this place I have no time or inclination to reply to so unaccountable an assertion as this; contenting myself with the belief, that the term would be far more correctly applied to that part of the human family who have strayed farthest from nature, than it could be to those who are simply moving in, and filling the sphere for which they were designed by the Great Spirit who made them.

From what I have seen of these people I feel authorized to say, that there is nothing very strange or unaccountable in their character; but that it is a simple one, and easy to be learned and understood, if the right means be taken to familiarize ourselves with it. Although it has its dark spots, yet there is much in it to be applauded, and much to recommend it to the admiration of the enlightened world. And I trust that the reader, who looks through these volumes with care, will be disposed to join me in the conclusion that the North American Indian in his native state, is an honest, hospitable, faithful, brave, warlike, cruel, revengeful, relentless,—yet honourable, contemplative and religious being.

If such be the case, I am sure there is enough in it to recommend it to the fair perusal of the world, and charity enough in all civilized countries, in this enlightened age, to extend a helping hand to a dying race; provided that prejudice and fear can be removed, which have heretofore constantly held the civilized portions in dread of the savage—and away from that familiar and friendly embrace, in which alone his true native character can be justly appreciated.

I am fully convinced, from a long familiarity with these people, that the Indian's misfortune has consisted chiefly in our ignorance of their true native character and disposition, which has always held us at a distrustful distance from them; inducing us to look upon them in no other light than that of a hostile foe, and worthy only of that system of continued warfare and abuse that has been for ever waged against them.

There is no difficulty in approaching the Indian and getting acquainted with him in his wild and unsophisticated state, and finding him an honest and honourable man; with feelings to meet feelings, if the above prejudice and dread can be laid aside, and any one will take the pains, as I have done, to

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go and see him in the simplicity of his native state, smoking his pipe under his own humble roof, with his wife and children around him, and his faithful dogs and horses hanging about his hospitable tenement.—So the world *may* see him and smoke his friendly pipe, which will be invariably extended to them; and share, with a hearty welcome, the best that his wigwam affords for the appetite, which is always set out to a stranger the next moment after he enters. 121

But so the mass of the world, most assuredly, will *not* see these people; for they are too far off, and approachable to those only whose avarice or cupidity alone lead them to those remote regions, and whose shame prevents them from publishing to the world the virtues which they have thrown down and trampled under foot.

The very use of the word savage, as it is applied in its general sense, I am inclined to believe is an abuse of the word, and the people to whom it is applied. The word, in its true definition, means no more than *wild*, or *wild man*; and a wild man may have been endowed by his Maker with all the humane and noble traits that inhabit the heart of a tame man. Our ignorance and dread or fear of these people, therefore, have given a new definition to the adjective; and nearly the whole civilized world apply the word *savage*, as expressive of the most ferocious, cruel, and murderous character that can be described.

The grizzly bear is called savage, because he is blood-thirsty, ravenous and cruel; and so is the tiger, and they, like the poor red man, have been feared and dreaded (from the distance at which ignorance and prejudice have kept us from them, or from resented abuses which we have practised when we have come in close contact with them), until Van Amburgh shewed the world, that even these ferocious and unreasoning animals wanted only the friendship and close embrace of their master, to respect and to love him.

As evidence of the hospitality of these ignorant and benighted people, and also of their honesty and honour, there will be found recorded many striking instances in the following pages. And also, as an offset to these, many evidences of the dark and cruel, as well as ignorant and disgusting excesses of passions, unrestrained by the salutary influences of laws and Christianity.

I have roamed about from time to time during seven or eight years, visiting and associating with, some three or four hundred thousand of these people, under an almost infinite variety of circumstances; and from the very many and decided voluntary acts of their hospitality and kindness, I feel bound to pronounce them, by nature, a kind and hospitable people. I have been welcomed generally in their country, and treated to the best that they could give me, without any charges made for my board; they have often escorted me through their enemies' country at some hazard to their own lives, and aided me in passing mountains and rivers with my awkward bag-

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121 gage; and under all of these circumstances of exposure, no Indian ever betrayed me, struck me a blow, or stole from me a shilling's worth of my property that I am aware of.

This is saying a great deal, (and proving it too, if the reader will believe me) in favour of the virtues of these people; when it is borne in mind, as it should be, that there is no law in their land to punish a man for theft—that locks and keys are not known in their country—that the commandments have never been divulged amongst them; nor can any human retribution fall upon the head of a thief, save the disgrace which attaches as a stigma to his character, in the eyes of his people about him.

And thus in these little communities, strange as it may seem, in the absence of all systems of jurisprudence, I have often beheld peace and happiness, and quiet, reigning supreme, for which even kings and emperors might envy them. I have seen rights and virtue protected, and wrongs redressed; and I have seen conjugal, filial and paternal affection in the simplicity and contentedness of nature. I have unavoidably, formed warm and enduring attachments to some of these men which I do not wish to forget—who have brought me near to their hearts, and in our final separation have embraced me in their arms, and commended me and my affairs to the keeping of the Great Spirit.

For the above reasons, the reader will be disposed to forgive me for dwelling so long and so strong on the justness of the claims of these people; and for my occasional expressions of sadness, when my heart bleeds for the fate that awaits the remainder of their unlucky race; which is long to be outlived by the rocks, by the beasts, and even birds and reptiles of the country they live in;—set upon by their fellow-man, whose cupidity, it is feared, will fix no bounds to the Indian's earthly calamity, short of the grave.

I cannot help but repeat, before I close this Letter, that the tribes of the red men of North America, as a nation of human beings, are on their wane; that (to use their own very beautiful figure) "they are fast travelling to the shades of their fathers, towards the setting sun;" and that the traveller who would see these people in their native simplicity and beauty, must needs be hastily on his way to the prairies and Rocky Mountains, or he will see them only as they are now seen on the frontiers, as a basket of *dead game*,—harassed, chased, bleeding and dead; with their plumage and colours despoiled; to be gazed amongst in vain for some system or moral, or for some scale by which to estimate their true native character, other than that which has too often recorded them but a dark and unintelligible mass of cruelty and barbarity.

000 Without further comments I close this Letter, introducing my readers at once to the heart of the Indian country, only asking their forgiveness for having made it so long, and their patience whilst travelling through the following pages (as I journeyed through those remote realms) in search of information and rational amusement; in tracing out the true character of

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*Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology**

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INTRODUCTION

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WE ALREADY have some understanding of the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow type kinship system under conditions of social change (Spoehr 1947; Eggan 1950), but we lack sufficient information on the actual processes and interactions involved in the shift from one basic kinship type to another. This paper deals with processes of kinship change in one village of Mandan-Hidatsa Indians living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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The Mandan and Hidatsa are both small Siouan-speaking tribes with a long history of residence in the Missouri River Valley. Although the Mandan and Hidatsa had different origins, spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and lived in separate villages, they have been in intimate and peaceful association for over two hundred years, with constant cultural borrowings and intermarriage. For the problem to be dealt with here, we may consider the two tribes as one.

Both groups were part of the Prairie earth lodge complex, which included the Chiwere and Dhegiha Sioux and the Caddoan tribes and covered the area encompassed by the Arkansas and Missouri River valleys. A dual subsistence economy of agriculture and hunting was adjusted to an abundant ecological setting in the fertile creek and river bottom lands. Each tribe was composed of a number of independent villages integrated by social and ceremonial ties. The characteristic dwelling was the earth lodge, occupied by matrilocal extended families. The social structure of the Mandan-Hidatsa included a clan and moiety system, matrilineal lineages, an elaborate set of societies, and a Crow type kinship system.

In the early nineteenth century, the two tribes were severely reduced in population by a series of smallpox epidemics. By 1862, the remnants of the Mandan-Hidatsa had consolidated with the Arikara in one village for mutual defense against hostile nomads. With the Indian Bureau allotment program in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the people of the village were scattered into a number of separate and smaller communities on the Fort Berthold Reservation. A group of Mandan and Hidatsa families established

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themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families.

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white.

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.).

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Two individuals were related to one another in a dual way: one a joking grandfather-grandchild relationship, and the other a respect father-son relation. These boys were roommates at boarding school, during which time they teased one another and acted more like "roommates" than in accordance with either of the two possible kinship relationships. One said of the Indian way, "We left it home." When they returned to the reservation they continued the teasing relationship which had arisen from the school situation. Eventually they came to use grandfather-grandchild kinship terms as a means of justifying to others their mild joking. In this case, it was fortunate that a kinship bond existed to validate their behavior on the reservation.

Schneider (1953:228) has suggested "that one important function of the use of kinship terms as forms of address is in imposing on the situation a kind of sanction which enforces conformity with the social definition of the relationship." In some situations the people of Lone Hill consciously manipulate kinship terms to serve their personal ends. Interaction between the acculturated and unacculturated is not unstructured or loosely defined, but it does have an element of ambiguity as there are two relatively clear-cut alternate systems. A few individuals take advantage of this in rather subtle ways.

At a political meeting, a converted Indian, who ordinarily uses the generational system, addressed a prominent member of the opposing faction as a "father." He used the Crow system in this situation knowing full well that his political rival would not be so indiscreet as to criticize a "son" in public.

An unacculturated woman of the village came into the house of a wealthy converted Indian and addressed him as "older brother." She sat down and indicated that she had some important business in town but had no means of transportation. The converted Indian, as he was preparing to drive her to town, whispered to me, "The only time she ever calls me 'brother' is when she wants something."

CONCLUSION

In earlier times both the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Southeastern tribes had a pure Crow type lineage system. After acculturative influence an American generational type kinship system is found among the two groups. In the Southeast the orderly and progressive shift in kinship type was characterized as a process of slow modification of the existing system due to adaptive responses to changing conditions. In Lone Hill, the lack of intermediate variations in kinship patterns suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage.

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The comparison of static types and categories at different times will yield only partial information on the processes of change and persistence. If we are satisfied simply with answers to the question of *what* change has taken place, it may be sufficient to study the beginning and the end of a cultural sequence. But only through examination of an ongoing sequence and of the actual contexts in which a choice of alternatives is made can we say *how* the change has happened and thereby gain insight into the process itself. And the deepest understanding of social change may best be achieved by direct study of the actual mechanisms and processes involved.

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Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation[1]

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INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

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participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27):

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards.

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials:

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of

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analysis. The governmental administrative divisions do not correspond to the community of Lone Hill, which is a smaller but socially more relevant unit and is recognized as such by the people themselves. All the Indian people who had an established home in the village during the latter half of 1951 were included in the sample. Lone Hill as thus defined consists of 267 residents, of whom 137 were adults over seventeen years of age, forming forty-eight nuclear families living in forty-one separate households. The nuclear family was selected as the unit of analysis rather than the isolated individual or the household, as the data suggest that acculturation in Lone Hill is related to family orientation, and the nuclear family is the only unit of socialization common to the entire population. Those nuclear families who do attend the dance regularly were put in one group; those who do not in another. The application of the criterion dichotomized the population. Of the forty-eight Indian nuclear families in Lone Hill, thirty-four families do regularly participate in the dances and fourteen families do not. Although there are some difficulties associated with these rubrics, I refer to the thirty-four families as "unacculturated" and the fourteen as "acculturated." These terms are not meant to imply absolute categories, as if one group were fully acculturated and the other were not, for our concern is with relative differences of degree. Indeed, in a later section of this paper one further subdivision will be made within the acculturated category.

If the criterion of acculturation was a good choice, there should be processes which explain how the two groupings arose. To become acculturated means, in part, to learn and internalize white ways and values from a white person. The Indian people all have contact with whites as adults but they do not all become acculturated at the same rate. Our attention is thus directed to differential exposure to and influence by white persons in the important early years of life, in the socialization process. The preliminary notion suggests itself that degree of acculturation, based upon participation in contemporary Indian culture, is associated with degree of influence by white persons in childhood. To examine this notion we should study cultural transmission and socialization over many generations. For practical reasons this is not feasible but we can determine which families in Lone Hill village have had a history of white intermarriage. In those cases in which a white person has married an Indian, there would be a white person in the domestic family situation who would thus provide a model for the children.

For purposes of this study, the presence or absence of a white model was determined for every family in Lone Hill on the basis of census data, Indian Bureau records, village genealogies, informal interviews, and in some cases extensive life history material. Any given nuclear family was said to have had a white model if either a parent, a grandparent, or a great-grandparent, or a substitute for such on either side, was a white person who actually lived with the nuclear family. Taking our point of departure from the present children, this creates a limit of four generations back, which was in part a matter of expediency as it was not possible to trace instances of white intermarriage beyond four generations. However, the limit of four generations corresponds to

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the approximate time at which the Mandan-Hidatsa abandoned their aboriginal villages and thus does represent an important historical turning point.

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through intermarriage is a cultural factor, and it should not be confused with degree of blood, a biological factor. The grandfather of one woman in Lone Hill was a white man who came up the Missouri on a steamboat, stayed a few years, and then left for parts unknown. He produced an undetermined number of children by different Indian women, but all his children were raised in Indian homes. The only cultural transmission from this white man is that some of his known descendants suspect that he may have been Irish and they jokingly celebrate St. Patrick's Day in his honor. His descendants have not had a white model despite their one-fourth degree of white blood. In fact, there is probably not one Mandan-Hidatsa who is a biological full blood, due to the great amount of white intermarriage in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This early intermarriage has not been recorded and took place in very different historical circumstances than more recent intermarriage.

It was found that seventeen nuclear families have had a white model and that thirty-one families have not. When we put these data together with our criterion of acculturation, a very striking result emerges. It was previously determined that fourteen *acculturated* families *do not* regularly attend the Indian ceremonials and thirty-four *unacculturated* families *do* attend the dances. Each of the fourteen acculturated families has had a white model. Of the thirty-four unacculturated families, thirty-one have not had a white model and three have had. To state these results another way: the families who do not attend the dances have all had a white model; the families who do attend the ceremonials, with three exceptions have not had a white model.

This is indeed a striking set of facts. The importance of white intermarriage has been suggested by other students who have worked in the same culture area with related tribes, but this is, as far as I know, the first time the relationship has emerged so boldly. Voget (1952), who has delineated four socio-cultural groups among the Crow, has written of his "native" group, "It is not unreasonable to assume that the membership of this socio-cultural category consists for the most part of those of pure descent" (89), while his most acculturated group, the "American marginal," are " . . . predominantly of mixed descent" (91). Based upon her study of the Dakota Sioux, Useem (1947:375) concludes, "The full bloods, in contrast to the mixed bloods, tend to retain more of the Sioux language, to keep more of the early symbols and patterns of Dakotan life, [to reside in] full blood communities . . . , to be less educated, to prefer on-reservation to off-reservation life, and to be opposed to the Indian Reorganization Act of the Federal Government."

THE FACTOR OF ISOLATION

The explanation of why white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation must be sought in the total situation in which the people of Lone Hill find themselves. Single factor explanations do not cover the available data. It might be thought that the Indian who knows he is, and is known to be part

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descendants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the government grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological readjustment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

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It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

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White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

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There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the